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A Report of Research on

**SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN IN AN EXPRESSIVE MEDIUM:
American and Mexican Popular songs**

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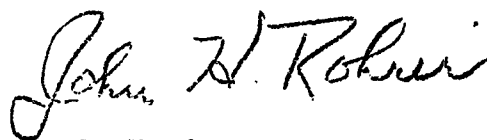
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INTRODUCTION

The methodological problem of identifying possible relationships holding between sociocultural dynamics and personality dynamics led us to undertake the exploratory study that makes up the body of this report. The cultures chosen resulted from expediency; Dr. Edmonson had much of the data on Mexican culture and projective data (i.e., songs) already assembled. Since our interest was in the possibility of identifying projections of personality variables into expressive media, these and American data were used. In anticipation of the results of the report which follows, a statistically valid methodology was established that fits the expectations of "basic personality" and "national character" theory.



John H. Rohrer
Task Director

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND MOTIVATIONAL PATTERN IN AN EXPRESSIVE MEDIUM:

American and Mexican Popular Songs*

* This paper is based upon data gathered as a part of a research project under the direction of John H. Rohrer and supported by the Neuropsychiatry Branch, Professional Division, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Department of Navy through contract N7 onr-43404 between the Office of Naval Research and Tulane University. This paper is a technical report made under that contract. The opinions expressed herein are those of the writers and are not necessarily those of the sponsoring Agency, the Department of Navy.

The considerable interest which has attached in recent years to the "culture and personality" approach to differential psychology, has made the public as well as the social scientist aware of this field of inquiry and research to an unusual degree. Criticism of the method for its lack of objectivity has come from many quarters, and uncritical enthusiasm from many others. The present study essays to test, as objectively as may be, certain hypotheses derived from "culture and personality" theory. It should be noted at the outset that such a test can be only partial. The complexity of the theory, the scope of its assumptions, and the nature of its methods have tended to push it into becoming a system more of interpretation and explanation than of prediction and control.

The testing of the assumptions of culture and personality theory has not yet been extensively attempted. Malinowski's qualification of Oedipal theory (3), Mead's comparative studies of adolescence and of sex roles (4), Holmberg's attempt to compare sexual and oral motivations (2), and Whiting and Child's

close scrutiny of socialization (8) are representative attempts at one or another degree of rigor in this field. Aside from the extensive use of psychological testing, the examination of direct psychological expression in various cultures has been characteristically lacking in objectivity. A notable exception is the recent article by Shimkin and Sanjuan (6) comparing the proverbs and social conditions of three different sections of Russia.

The present study is most closely analogous to the Shimkin and Sanjuan article. We have set out to formulate and test hypotheses about the relationship of motivational patterns in American and Mexican popular songs to the social structure from which the songs spring. Our study is an attempt to clarify and objectify the widespread assumption that differences between cultures are sensitively reflected in their media of group expression, of which popular songs may be taken as one example.

Method and Results.

A random sample of 120 popular songs stratified by time periods of twenty years each was drawn for each culture from a longer list of songs of known date and popularity. Forty songs were selected for each twenty year period from 1891 to 1950. It was not possible to use the same criterion of popularity for the entire period or for both cultures: the Mexican songs were drawn from a popular songbook containing some 222 songs covering the period up to its publication in 1948 (1): the American songs were drawn from selected lists of "most popular" songs--for the period 1891-1930 the index used was sheet music sales of over 1,000,000 copies (7), and from 1931-1950 the sample was drawn from a list of the songs featured on "Your Hit Parade" during that period.

1. The mimeographed list of songs that had been in first, second and third place was generously furnished by Batten, Baron, Durstine and Osborne, Inc. The songs of the sample are listed in Appendix I.

The songs were copied on uniform cards and divided into units for analysis. After trying verses and lines, we settled on the complete sentence as the most easily scored unit for our purpose.²

A scoring sheet was devised for recording the coded scoring of each song.³ This sheet bore the name of the song, its cultural identification, date, genre, roles present, and columns for recording the motivational, imagery and "background" scores for the total song and for each sentence in it. The sentences were numbered, and the chorus was distinguished from the verse. The motivational and imagery variables were scored as "present" or "absent" in each sentence, each variable being considered independently of the others.

Reliability of Scoring.

A reliability subsample of 48 songs was drawn at random from the total sample, stratified by culture and period, and these songs were scored independently by both investigators to check on scoring reliability. Statistical tests of significance were made to determine the reliability with which the scoring had been made. This involved four areas: (1) the reliability with which the decision to score or not to score the motivational variables was made for each line (these variables being scored only in sentences where a dyadic role relationship was represented), (2) reliability of the motivational scoring, (3) reliability of the imagery scoring, and (4) reliability of the "background" scoring. A Chi-square test for independence and a mean-square contingency

2. Starting from the syntactic definition of a sentence as a simple subject and predicate, we were forced to modify this to a partly semantic definition because of the poetic nature of the material: hence, we often assume an implied subject or predicate to complete phrases poetically incomplete in the texts.

3. A sample of this sheet is included in Appendix II.

measure of correspondence were used. The one per cent level of significance on the Chi-square was made the cutting point for "satisfactory reliability."

(1) The "role scoring" produced 70 per cent agreement between scorers, a Chi-square of 78.4 ($p < .01$) and a C of 33.2. (The N was 614 sentences.) This was accepted as a satisfactory amount of reliability.⁴

(2) Of the twelve motivational variables used, six could not be tested for reliability because of low frequency. These were: achievement, aggression, competition, extraversion, hostility, and identification. They were accordingly eliminated from consideration. The remaining six variables were tested and are listed in Table 1.

Table 1
Scoring Reliability of the Motivational Variables

Variable	Per Cent Agreement	Chi-Square	C
Anxiety	79	71.0*	43.2
Co-operation	89	102.8*	69.7
Dominance	72	26.4*	28.1
Introversion	66	35.5*	31.9
Rejection	83	68.1*	42.3
Submission	69	6.4**	16.1
* = $p < .01$ ** = $p < .05$ N = 313			

Submission was eliminated from the study on reliability grounds; the rest of the variables were considered to have been reliably scored.

(3) Of the seven imagery variables, two (anal and genital) were eliminated on frequency grounds; five were tested for reliability. The results are

4. The theoretical limit of C for this study is 70.1.

presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Scoring Reliability of the Imagery Variables

Variable	Per Cent Agreement	Chi-Square	C
Auditory	90	216.0*	56.5
Kinaesthetic	76	88.0*	35.6
Oral	86	67.9*	31.5
Tactile	87	4.6**	8.6
Visual	81	198.0*	49.4
* = $p < .01$ ** = $p < .05$ N = 614			

The "Tactile" variable was eliminated on reliability grounds.

(4) The scoring of the emotional "background" or motivational tone of the sentences irrespective of interpersonal relationships showed 58 per cent agreement, with a Chi-square of 298.4 ($p < .01$) and a C of 57.3, which was considered sufficient reliability for our purposes.⁵

Definitions of the Variables.

Of the variables used in the study, we were most concerned with those we have called "motivational." The elusive nature of these was controlled by a "training period" in which scoring disagreements were discussed and definitional problems resolved. In general we dealt with the motivational categories as

5. The Mexican songs showed more anxiety, the difference being significant at the five per cent level. The greater incidence of submission and tactile imagery in the Mexican songs is also significant at the five and one per cent levels, respectively, though the low scoring reliability for these variables precludes any extensive interpretation of this fact.

properties in the interaction between specified role figures in the songs.

We also crystallized our agreement in a set of formal definitions, which follow:⁶

Anxiety. Any feelings of insecurity or fear evidenced with respect to persons or things.

Co-operation. Action in which joint activity for attaining a common desired goal is emphasized.

Dominance. Action in which one individual influences the behavior of another in a direction desired by the first but not by the second.

Introversion. Emphasis on the inner feelings or egocentric behavior of one individual to the exclusion of sensitivity to the feelings or action of another. We assume this to be related to withdrawal and to be a psychological concomitant of "individualism" or "inner-direction."

Rejection. The denial of expected co-operation; frustration of one individual by another's wilful nonco-operation. Separation and desertion are presumed synonyms.

Formal definitions do not, in this fluid area at least, tell the whole story. Examples will perhaps frame more fully the content of these concepts as we used them, as well as lending substance to the conclusions that follow.

The examples cited are taken at random from our actual scoring:

Anxiety:

When I'm calling you, will you answer too?

Co-operation:

Dame la mano, morena, para subir a tu nido. (Give me your hand, brunette, to climb up to your nest.)

Dominance:

A wild sort of devil, but dead on the level, was my gal, Sal.

Introversion:

Cómo no he de sentir yo, mi vida, si no me dijiste adiós? (Why shouldn't I feel hurt, my love, if you didn't even tell me goodbye?)

6. Because the original form of these definitions has been misplaced, the definitions cited here are reconstructions.

Rejection:

And if you would only be my own, for the rest of my days I will whisper this phrase: my darling, c'est si bon.

In our scoring, we scored each sentence for the presence or absence of each variable. In many cases the sentences were scored as having multiple motivations, as in the following examples:

Recuerda que te quise con sin igual carino--que nunca ni por nadie te dejaré de amar. (Remember that I loved you with unequalled tenderness, so that never and for no one will I cease loving you.)

(Anxiety, Dominance)

Love me and the world is mine.

(Introversion, Rejection, Submission)

Me subí en un alto pino por ver si te divisaba: como no soy tan ladino, con paciencia yo esperaba, y con tanto remolino hasta se me cayó la baba. (I climbed a tall pine to see if I could see you, (and) since I'm not too bright I waited patiently, but with all that rocking I was drooling.)

(Dominance, Submission)

When they play "Here Comes the Bride," you'll stand outside.

(Dominance, Submission)

From Natchez to Mobile--from Memphis to St. Joe--wherever the four winds blow, I been in some big towns an' heard some big talk, but there's one thing I know: a woman's a two-face, a worrisome thing who'll leave ya t' sing the blues in the night.

(Anxiety, Dominance, Introversion, Rejection)

Because we appeared to be having no difficulties in scoring them, the imagery and "background" variables were not formally defined. Examples of the scoring follow:

Auditory:

Maldita--siempre maldita--dime si tu boca bonita que tanto yo he besado suspira por mí. (Woman forever damned, tell me if your pretty mouth that I have so often kissed sighs for me.)

Kinaesthetic:

If you've got time to spare, I want to take you there.

Oral:

Let us swear allegiance to a land that's free.

Visual:

Entre los naranjos la luna lunera ponía en su frente su luz de azahar,
y cuando asomaron los claros del día llevaba reflejos del verde olivar.
(Among the orange trees the shining moon shone with a countenance of
orange blossom light, and, when the signs of day appeared, reflected
the green olive tree.)

Positive:

I'll be loving you always.

Negative:

Si estás triste tus ojos reflejan la pena y tu padecer. (If you are sad
your eyes reflect pain and your suffering.)

Ambivalent:

Blushes deepen in her cheek ere the shy red lips can speak: "Ah, but
what if weeds should grow 'mongst the flowers you bid me sow?"

Neutral:

Cuenten los pasos, que aquí llegamos. (Count the steps because we're
coming along.)

The Cultural Comparison.

The comparison of the Mexican and American totals revealed two significant motivational differences: there was more co-operation in the American songs, more rejection in the Mexican ones. The imagery showed one significant difference: the American songs had more auditory imagery than did the Mexican. Finally, the "background" reveals that there is a more positive feeling tone to the American songs, and a more negative one to the Mexican. Table 3 shows the percentage of all sentences in the songs of each culture scored as containing each variable. The Chi-square tests of significant difference are also listed. As may be seen from the table, there were no significant differences between

Table 3

Motivation, Imagery and Background by Culture

Variable	American Per Cent	Mexican Per Cent	Chi-Square
MOTIVATIONAL N = 313			
Anxiety	16.9	21.4	4.2**
Co-operation	14.1	4.0	37.6*
Dominance	17.5	19.0	0.4
Introversion	38.4	38.6	0.0
Rejection	15.3	28.8	34.6*
Submission	12.3	16.9	5.3**
IMAGERY N = 614			
Auditory	16.7	12.6	6.9*
Kinaesthetic	26.8	26.8	0.0
Oral	13.9	12.8	0.3
Visual	37.8	36.9	0.2
Tactile	14.3	20.5	13.6*
BACKGROUND N = 614			
Positive	39.6	22.5	
Negative	28.8	39.7	
Ambivalent	20.3	22.5	
Neutral	10.8	9.4	382.0*

* = $p < .01$ ** = $p < .05$

the two cultures in dominance or introversion, nor in kinaesthetic, oral and visual imagery.⁷

The Temporal Comparison.

The songs were divided by date of publication into three time periods: (a) 1891-1910, (b) 1911-1930, and (c) 1931-1950. The incidence of each of the variables by time period was compared with the incidence of the same variable in each other time period. There were no cases in which significant change took place in the same direction in two successive time periods, and few cases of significant change at all. (Out of 27 time period comparisons, only 6 were significant at the .01 level.) In the American songs there is more dominance and introversion in the third period than in the second, and more anxiety in the third than in the first. In the Mexican songs there is more co-operation in the first period than in the second.

The imagery variables showed similar results: there was more kinaesthetic imagery in the first and second periods than in the third for the American songs, and in the Mexican songs there is more kinaesthetic imagery in the first than in the second period.⁸ Table 4 shows the percentage of sentences reflecting each variable by time period.

7. These differences were all significant at the one per cent level. Others significant at the five per cent level emerged: in the American songs there was more dominance in the first period than in the second and more rejection in the third period than in the first; in the Mexican songs there was more introversion in the third period than in the first.

8. The comparison of the Mexican first and third periods resulted in a difference significant at the five per cent level. All those cited in the text are significant at the one per cent level. Other imagery differences at the five per cent level were: for the American songs more oral imagery in the first than in the second period and more visual imagery in the second than the third, and for the Mexican songs more auditory imagery in the first than in the second period.

Table 4

Motivation, Imagery and Background by Time⁹

Variable		American			Mexican		
		1891- 1910	1911- 1930	1931- 1950	1891- 1910	1911- 1930	1931- 1950
MOTIVATIONAL	N =	269	199	250	218	193	182
Anxiety		12.6	15.6	22.8	20.6	23.8	20.5
Co-operation		13.8	14.6	14.0	6.4	1.0	4.4
Dominance		18.0	9.9	22.4	18.8	20.2	17.6
Introversion		37.2	32.0	45.2	33.6	39.9	44.5
Rejection		11.1	17.2	18.8	30.3	27.5	28.6
IMAGERY	N =	419	392	424	333	346	240
Auditory		16.0	16.8	17.5	15.3	9.2	13.3
Kinaesthetic		30.5	30.9	19.3	33.3	23.1	24.6
Oral		16.2	11.5	13.7	12.0	11.6	15.4
Visual		42.2	40.3	32.5	39.9	34.7	36.3
BACKGROUND	N =	419	392	424	333	346	240
Positive		43.7	38.8	36.2	23.1	23.1	20.8
Negative		25.8	27.0	33.4	45.9	49.1	45.8
Ambivalent		24.3	21.9	16.5	16.5	19.7	29.2
Neutral		6.2	12.2	13.9	14.4	8.1	4.2

9. No test of significance of the "background" has been run, since this would require extensive retabulation of the data.

The songs were classified by genre as "narrative" or "lyric." (The additional classification "comic" was provided for but did not occur.) Twenty-one of the 240 songs were narrative; the remaining 219 were lyric. Their distribution by time period is shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Genre by Culture and Time

		Lyric	Narrative	Total
AMERICAN				
1.	(1891-1910)	33	7	40
2.	(1911-1930)	37	3	40
3.	(1931-1950)	40	0	40
MEXICAN				
1.	(1891-1910)	34	6	40
2.	(1911-1930)	37	3	40
3.	(1931-1950)	38	2	40
TOTAL		219	21	240

The role content of the songs proved to be strikingly similar in a number of respects; one or two major differences stand out with some clarity against this background of basic similarity. Both sets of songs were overwhelmingly concerned with the relationships between young men and young women. In the American songs 84.9 per cent of all sentences in which any role relationship is indicated involve a young man and a young woman. In the Mexican songs this figure is 93.4 per cent! Although we had hoped to be in a position to interpret more than the "sweetheart role" from the songs, this proves to be impossible: other roles simply do not occur often enough.

The Mexican songs clearly indicate the sex of the singer in virtually all cases. (It proved possible to make a definite interpretation on this point in all of the songs.) The American songs, on the other hand, frequently indicate a cross-sex relationship while leaving the identity of the singer indefinite. Thus, in the American songs, 29.1 per cent of all lines in which some role relationship occurs can be interpreted either as a boy singing to or about a girl or vice versa.

Possible as a result of this fact, the Mexican songs constitute a male literature about women; the American songs a general literature about relations between the sexes. A fairly clear picture of the romantic love role for both men and women appears in the American songs: in the Mexican songs only the woman is clearly depicted.

The accompanying Table 6 presents a comparative summary of the feminine roles appearing in the two sets of songs in terms of the number of songs in which each role-term figures. It will be seen that there is a remarkably detailed similarity between the two cultures; the same role occurring with almost identical frequency in many cases, and the number of variations being comparable in most categories.

The American songs appear to be far more concerned with mother than are the Mexican: thirteen of them involve mothers as compared to three in the Mexican sample. The American songs emphasize youth ("girl") while the Mexican songs emphasize adulthood ("mujer"). The generic terms of endearment for sweetheart in Spanish are more abstract: "my life," "my tenderness," "my good" (bien), while those of English are vocative and direct. Yet the Spanish terms are more inclined to be specific as to color and appearance (negra, morena, trigueña, chiquita, chatita, etc.). The Spanish songs include negative terms for sweetheart ("my torture," "ingrate," "adventuress," "tyrant") which appear to be totally lacking from American romantic love.

Table 6

Feminine Roles

Role	American Terms	No. Songs	Mexican Terms	No. Songs
1. Mother	mother	11	mamá (mama)	2
	mammy	2	madrecita (mummy)	1
2. Sister	sister	1	hermanita (sis)	1
3. Daughter	----	-	hija (daughter)	2
4. Girl	girl	8	chamaca (kid)	1
	girlie	3	niña (little girl)	6
	gal	2	nena (baby girl)	1
	maid	4	caserita (landlady)	1
5. Woman (wife)	woman	2	mujer (woman)	17
	lady	2	señora (lady)	2
	wife	1	viejita (old lady)	1
6. Sweetheart (a) general	lover	3	amor (love)	5
	love	4	carino (tenderness)	2
	sweetheart	8	vida (life)	5
	dear	8	querida (beloved)	1
	darling	5	querer (desire)	1
	dearie	2	amada (beloved)	1
	dear one	1	bien (good, "precious")	4
	dear heart	1	chaparrita ("sweetie")	2
	honey	1		
	honey lamb	1		

Table 6 Continued

Feminine Roles

Role	American Terms	No. Songs	Mexican Terms	No. Songs
(b) descriptive	funny face	1	chiquita (little one)	2
			chatita (cutie, shorty)	2
			negra (dark)	3
			morena (swarthy)	2
			triguena (brunette)	1
			bonita (pretty)	1
			hermosa (beautiful)	1
			preciosa (precious)	1
			llorona (cry-baby)	1
(c) allegoric	queen prize peach flower rose dolly	3	reina (queen)	1
		1	emperadora (empress)	1
		1	tirana (tyrant)	1
		1	dictadora (dictator)	1
		2	golondrina (swallow)	2
		1	mufequita (dolly)	1
(d) negative	---	-	tortura (torture)	1
			maldita (cursed)	2
			ingrata (ingrate)	3
			aventurera (adventuress)	1
(e) cultural	(Japanese) gypsy	1	coculense (Coculan, from Cocula, Jal., Mexico)	1
		1	gitana (gypsy)	1
			chinita (Chinese, sweetheart)	1
			huachinanga (Cuban)	1
			serrana (mountain girl)	1
7. Nurse	nurse	1	----	-

Table 7

Masculine Roles

Role	American Terms	No. Songs	Mexican Terms	No. Songs	
1. Father	father	3	padre	(father)	2
	daddy	2			
	parent	1			
	folks	1			
2. Brother	brother	1	hermano	(brother)	1
3. Son	son	2	hijo	(son)	3
	kids	1			
	baby	5			
4. Boy	boy	6			
	lad	2			
	feller	1			
5. Man (husband)	man	3	hombre	(man)	1
	fellow	2			
	husband	1			
6. Sweetheart (a) general	beau	2			
	boy friend	1			
	pal	1			
	buddy	1			
(b) other	brave	1	cuatrapeado	(friggel)	1
	sheik	1	negro	(dark)	1
	rose	1	pequeño	(small)	1
	jelly roll	1			
	lazybones	1			
7. Widower	---	-	viudo	(widower)	1
8. Soldier	captain	1	capitán	(captain)	1
	soldier	6	soldado	(soldier)	1
	soldier boy	1			
	general	1			
9. Other occup.	ticket man	1	enterrador	(undertaker)	1
	toyman	1	preso	(prisoner)	1
	judge	1	manicero	(peanut vendor)	1
	pony boy (?)	1	trovador	(troubador)	1

The male roles in the American songs reflect rather similar configurations to those mentioned for the female. The actual terms are presented in Table 7. There is the same tendency towards an accent on youth, the virtual absence of pejorative terms, the scattered mention of father, brother, son. The terms of endearment are to a considerable extent the same. The incidence of soldiers seems surprisingly high, but we have, of course, no basis for a careful comparison. The incidence of "father" seems to be considerably less than that of "mother." The Mexican songs specify the male role in so few instances, that it seems impossible to draw any inferences regarding it.

Discussion.

The major theoretical assumptions underlying this study may be understood as comprising three different orders of explanation. In the first place, we have derived from theory certain explicit hypotheses for which the present data may constitute a reasonable test. These were formulated in advance in terms of the operations of the study, and we may be quite precise in stating whether or not our findings support or deny the hypothetical assertions. Secondly, we have made these hypotheses on the basis of a general motivational-cultural theory which leads us to expect other relationships not predicted in detail because of insufficient knowledge of the cultures. Here we may set up explanatory hypotheses, not tested by this study but consistent with its findings, which can then be tested by looking for further relevant cultural information. Finally, our operations have involved a number of operational assumptions which may be considered as intervening between the theory and our test of it: where our data indicate the necessity for alteration or qualification of these assumptions, we may offer post hoc interpretation, giving our best guess of factors probably relevant.

The complexity of the problems of culture and motivation seems to preclude any neater or more circumscribed methodology. We can, however, endeavor to be precise about how much of our findings were or might have been predicted, and how much is explanation after the fact.

Broadly speaking, our predictive hypotheses derive from the assumption that popular songs will reflect the characteristic motivational patterns of the public for whom they are composed, that such motivational patterns will be most stable, most widespread, and most indicative of cultural differences in personality when they can be traced to massive and generic differences in the family structure which provides the background for the early patterning of social motivation. For this study we have assumed, further, that the "culture" to which the American popular songs refer is that of the American White Middle Class, while the culture reflected in the Mexican songs is that of the Mexican Lower Class.

On the basis of the evidence currently available, it would appear that there are considerable differences between these two cultures in family structure. We assume that these will not only reveal themselves in the structure of the roles of childhood kinship, but will generalize psychologically to adult roles, specifically those of courtship and marriage which constitute the primary social content of popular songs in Mexico and the United States. The early social experience of the American child takes place in a family where the father is often absent, and where the positive feelings of affection and the negative feelings generated by discipline tend to be concentrated on the mother. In the Mexican family, discipline appears to be primarily a paternal function from a fairly early age. Thus, the relationship of children to mother in Mexico should be less ambivalent, and that to father more negative, in relative

terms. The Mexican mother maintains discipline by threat rather than corporal punishment, and her main weapon appears to be the threat of withdrawal of affection. This is a pattern, then, which should generalize to adult sex roles, the male identifying with the father, the female with the mother. In terms of the relations between the sexes, we may predict:

Hypothesis (1): There should be more sensitivity to rejection in the Mexican songs than in the American ones.

The hypothesis is sustained by the difference in the incidence of rejection in the two sets of songs, significant at the one per cent level.

Because relations among siblings are also operative from early childhood, the patterns in this respect should also have a bearing on adult sex roles. In American culture there is a considerable egalitarian accent: children are urged to take turns, to share toys, to receive equal attention and accept equal gratifications or frustrations. Sibling rivalry is smoothed by equality and co-operation. In Mexican culture, on the other hand, relations among siblings are hierarchically structured. Relative age is stressed as a structure of rights and obligations, and an older sibling may occupy a quasi-parental role, receiving greater rewards for greater responsibilities. Sibling rivalry is resolved by a hierarchy of age and sex. In relations between the sexes, then, this should be reflected in the presence of more dominance and of more submission. This may be stated as:

Hypothesis (2): There should be more dominance in the Mexican songs than in the American songs.

And:

Hypothesis (3): There should be more submission in the Mexican songs than in the American songs.

Conversely, in terms of the structure of sibling relationships we may predict that:

Hypothesis (4): There should be more co-operation in the American songs than in the Mexican songs.

Hypothesis (2) is not supported by the evidence. The closely related Hypothesis (3) could not be clearly tested, since submission was not reliably scored, although it should be mentioned that a significant difference at the five per cent level was obtained in the direction predicted. Hypothesis (4) is sustained by a difference as predicted, significant at the one per cent level.

The interpretation of the essentially negative finding on dominance (Hypothesis (2)) cannot be easily explained. The design of the study is, of course, not tight enough to enable us to conclude that the theory on which the prediction rested was necessarily in error. It is equally possible that the brief sketch of American and Mexican family patterns does not exhaust the operative causes of emphasis or de-emphasis of dominance. We might even assume that there is an important matter of levels involved; that is, that frequency of these different relationships in the songs may reflect only the overt awareness of them by the composers of the songs. This last explanation would require a re-examination of the remainder of our findings in terms of some differentiation of covert and overt motivations. Because of the considerable complexity of this possibility, and the lack of any substantial evidence on the depth psychology of Mexican subjects, we have chosen to leave this path unexplored.

Our initial assumption was that the differences between cultures would be stable over considerable periods of time, and that differences between different time periods within each culture would be minor or insignificant. This was not framed as a general hypothesis, although it seems to be inherent in the "culture and personality" approach to these problems that basic motivational patterns may continue to exist in a given culture over considerable time periods. No precise statistical test of this proposition was made, but the evidence seems generally to support it. In only one case is there any evidence

of consistent change in one direction over the entire sixty years sampled: there is a gradually increasing amount of anxiety in the American songs, though this only attains statistical significance when we compare the first period with the third. It may also be regarded as corroborative evidence, perhaps, that in every case where there was a significant difference between cultures along any particular dimension, there is no overlap in the percentage figures for the same variables by time period. Thus, for example, the percentage of lines containing rejection in the American songs runs from 11.1 to 18.8, while the percentage in the Mexican songs is from 27.5 to 30.3.

Because American culture is in rapid change and puts a premium on innovation, we expected, though we did not formally hypothesize, that there would be more differences in the American songs through time than in the Mexican ones. In a general way the evidence supports this expectation: significant variations with time occurred in the American songs in dominance, introversion, anxiety, and kinaesthetic imagery: in the Mexican songs such variation occurs only in co-operation and kinaesthetic imagery.

Recent changes in social structure in Mexico have tended to make it resemble the United States more, although the changes in family structure have not yet struck deeply into the Mexican lower class. On these grounds, however, we expected such change as did occur in the Mexican songs to be in an American direction. The only significant change, however, was a decrease in co-operation from the first to the second period. The expectation does not appear to be warranted by the data.

Changes in family structure should be correlated with changes in song content within cultures as well as between them under our initial hypotheses. The observed differences for American culture do not appear to have such correlates. Riesman's argument (5) that the United States is becoming more

"other-directed" (our extraversion) is contraindicated by the significant increase in introversion from the second period to the third. (Extraversion was discarded from our study on reliability grounds.)

Although there may be some significance to these findings about time differences, it is our feeling that the size of the subsample (40 songs in each time period) is such that the presence or absence of a single song might influence the results considerably. We are inclined, therefore, to believe that some of these differences may be due to that kind of sampling error rather than to differences in the motivational patterns of the era.

Apart from our specific hypotheses about broad cultural differences and our general expectations of what would happen through time, we have been concerned here with "prospecting" for motivational variables which have proved useful for discriminating between other pairs of cultures. Only two of these were reliably scored, anxiety and introversion. We had no advance expectations about these variables, but the finding of significant increase in anxiety in the American songs through time and of a generally higher level of anxiety in the Mexican songs (this last significant only at the five per cent level) appears to be subject to some explanation. The first finding is consistent with the observations of a great many social scientists who have argued that rapid change and concomitant cultural disorientation have raised the American anxiety level. The latter finding is no doubt to be related to the rather tense structuring of relations between the sexes in Mexican culture which is elsewhere indicated by relatively negative feeling tone, rejection sensitivity, and the incidence of pejorative terms for "sweetheart."

It was tempting to follow the lead of Shimkin and Sanjuan (6) in using Rorschach scoring categories for the imagery of the songs. After some

hesitation we decided against this on the grounds that there appears to be no basis in Rorschach theory for the interpretation of non-individual symbolism. Indeed, the assumptions of Rorschach scoring appear to lend significance to the variables through the assumption of individual personality integration. Cultural integration could presumably be used to the same purpose but this would, in our opinion, require the formulation of a scoring system designed for this level of analysis. Accordingly, we adopted a simple imagery typology referring to different sensory zones. We had no systematic theory about this, but at least the use of these categories did not appear to be contraindicated theoretically.

Our major finding in this area was the significant difference between American and Mexican songs in auditory imagery. There were also significant differences between time periods in both cultures in kinaesthetic imagery. If these differences have some motivational significance, it seems likely that they would have correlates in psychological depth factors. On the face of it, there seems to be no obvious explanation for them.

Summary and Conclusions.

The theory that patterns of motivational structure derivative of widely operative social structural factors in the lives of individuals are reflected in the artistic productions of a culture is one which is widely held and difficult to test. Much of the evidence for it rests on interpretation and synthetic post hoc analysis rather than on explicitly tested hypotheses. The present study represents an attempt to test some hypotheses deriving from this theory in terms of correlative differences between the cultures of the United States and Mexico in family structure and in the patterns of motivation isolable in popular songs.

Four such hypotheses have been tested. The American songs were found to place greater emphasis on co-operation, the Mexican songs on rejection, as predicted from differences in family structure. Differences in dominance and submission, also hypothesized, did not emerge clearly, although no differences in a direction opposite to that expected emerged from the study. We may qualify these findings, perhaps, as a partial confirmation of the theory.

Additional differences between American and Mexican songs were discovered which may have correlates in the typical life experience of individuals in the two cultures, although this remains to be demonstrated. These include the more negative "feeling tone" of the Mexican songs, the greater use of auditory imagery in the American ones.

Some differences were also discovered in the content of the songs from different time periods. Although we are inclined to weight these differences lightly, they do raise problems for interpreting the stability of cultural differences. It may be noted that the differences between cultures in the variables which are significantly different appear to be greater than the differences by time period within cultures for these same variables, although this conclusion was not tested statistically.

It seems to be justifiable to conclude from our research that differences in motivational patterns between cultures are reflected in their popular songs, and that at least some of these differences can be predicted from the differences in social structure which imply widely shared differences in individual experience from one culture to another. It seems likely that the growth of our knowledge of various cultures in terms of social structure and of psychological dynamics will make possible considerable elaboration of the crude techniques of analysis used in this study, and that, correlatively, the study of cultures in terms of their expressive media--folklore, art, literature, drama, and so forth--does in fact add to our grasp of their basic psychological dynamics.

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APPENDIX I

American (1890-1910)

Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life	Mother Was a Lady
All That I ask of You Is Love	My Gal Sal
Any Little Girl That's a Nice Little Girl	My Wild Irish Rose
Always	On a Sunday Afternoon
A Bird In a Gilded Cage	A Perfect Day
Blue Bell	Pony Boy
Break the News to Mother	The Rosary
Down by the Old Mill Stream	School Days
Glow Worm	She Was Bred in Old Kentucky
Hearts and Flowers	Sidewalks of New York
Hiawatha	Some of These Days
I Love You Truly	Strike up the Band
I Wish I had a Girl	Sweet Adeline
In the Baggage Coach Ahead	Sweet Rosie O'Grady
In the Shade of the Old Apple Tree	Take Me Out to the Ball Game
Let Me Call You Sweetheart	Wait Till the Sun Shines Nellie
Love Me and the World Is Mine	When You Were Sweet Sixteen
The Mansion of Aching Hearts	Where the River Shannon Flows
Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland	Yip-I-Addy-I-Ay
Mighty Lak a Rose	You're a Grand Old Flag

American (1910-1930)

Alabama Bound

All Alone

By the Beautiful Sea

California Here I Come

Carolina In the Morning

Carolina Moon

Chicago

Dardanella

Girl of My Dreams

How Ya Gonna Keep Em Down on the Farm

I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be A Soldier

I'm Always Chasing Rainbows

I'm On My Way to Mandalay

Indian Love Call

It Ain't Gonna Rain No More

It's a Long Way to Tipperary

Just a Baby's Prayer at Twilight

Just a Girl that Men Forget

Memories

My Buddy

My Mammy

Oh, How I hate to Get Up in the Morning

Oh, What a Pal Was Mary

On Moonlight Bay

Over There

Parade of the Wooden Soldiers

Peggy O'Neil

Poor Butterfly

Remember

The Rose of Nomansland

St. Louis Blues

The Sheik of Araby

There's a Girl in the Heart of Maryland

Till We Meet Again

Trail of the Lonesome Pine

Trees

What'll I Do

When It's Springtime in the Rockies

When You Wore a Tulip

Whispering

American (1930-1950)

Anniversary Song

The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe

Blues in the Night

C'est Si Bon

The Chattanooga Choo Choo

Forty-Second Street

God Bless America

I Dream Too Much

I Like Mountain Music

I Wish I Didn't Love You So

I Wonder, I Wonder, I Wonder

Idaho

It's the Talk of the Town

I've Got You under My Skin

Just an Echo in the Valley

Lady of Spain

The Last Time I Saw Paris

Lazybones

Let's All Sing Like the Birdies Sing

Let's Fall in Love

Let's Get Lost

Moon Love

Oklahoma

Orange Colored Sky

The Peanut Vendor

South America Take It Away

Speak Low

Sunday Kind of Love

There But for You Go I

There Is No Greater Love

There's a Lull in My Life

These Foolish Things Remind Me of You

This Is the Moment

The Very Thought of You

What a Difference a Day Made

Willow Weep for Me

A Woman Is a Sometime Thing

You May Not Be an Angel But I'll
String along with You

You Must Have Been a Beautiful Baby

You Stepped out of a Dream

Mexican (1890-1910)

Altiva	La Leva
Ausencia	Lloraba un Corazón
!Ay, Qué Rechulo Es Puebla!	La Llorona
Los Barandales del Puente	Mañanitas Mexicanas
La Bamba Veracruzana	Mis Tristezas
La Barca de Oro	La Negra Noche
La Bayamesa	La Paloma
Una Carta Escrita en Oro	Paloma Blanca
Corriendo y Volando	El Perico
Cuando Escuches Este Vals	Perjura
¿Chinito, Qué Vendes Tú?	Preguntas, Niña, Por Qué Llorar
La Despedida de un Soldado	Rosita Alvarez
Dictadora	Sobre las Olas
El Durazno	La Tarde Era Triste
El Enterrador	Te Quiero
La Estampilla	Tú
Flores de Mayo	El Venadito
La Golondrina	Verdad
Granadinas	Las Violetas
El Hijo Desobediente	La Zandunga

Mexican (1910-1930)

Adiós Golondrina

Adiós, Mis Cuarenta Cartas

Adiós Nicanor

Albur de Amor

Ay, Mi Querido Capitán!

Besos y Cerezas

Boca Loca

La Borrachita

Caballo Bayo

Cabecita Loca

La Coculense

Cariño

Cuatro Milpas

Chula la Mañana

Desterrado

En el Sendero de mi Vida

Frutas del Caney

Las Golondrinas

La Hija del Penal

Lamento Borincano

Madrecita

La Mañana Está de Fiesta

El Manicero

La Maquinita

María la O

Me La Tienes Que Pagar

Mi Tienda

Milagrería

Nidito de Amor

Ojos Tabasqueños

Pompas

Prontito Será

Qué Lindo Besas, Mujer

Quisiera

Ramona

Si Llego a Besarte

Si Yo Pudiera

Tengo Nostalgia de Ti

Trigueña de Mis Amores

Veracruz Hermoso

Mexican (1930-1950)

Antonio Vargas Heredia

Aventurera

La Bien Pagada

Cabellera Blanca

Ciego

!Condénala Señor!

Contraste

Cuando Vuelvas

El Cuatrapeado

Chamaca Mía

Dime

Duerme

Hace un Año

Lejos

María Bonita

Mírame

Shapero

Negra Consentida

Noche

Palabras de Mujer

Palmera

Paula

Pervertida

Piensa en Mí

Pobrecita de Mi Alma

Por la Cruz

Por la Vuelta

Los Fregones de Mexico

Qué Has Puedo Decear

Rancho Alegre

Rival

Señora Tentación

Silenciosamente

Sombras

Somos Diferentes

La Tequilera

Toda una Vida

Tú Ya No Soplas

Uno, Dos y Tres

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